NOTES ON THE HISTORICAL CONNECTIONS OF DEVONSHIRE PLACE-NAMES.

BY R. N. WORTH, F.G.S., ETC.

(Read at Paignton, August, 1878.)

IMPORTANT particulars concerning the early and unwritten history of our county, may unquestionably be gathered from an examination and analysis of our Devonshire place-names. The subject is too large to be discussed with adequate fulness within the limits of a paper like the present: but it is still possible to draw some general conclusions, which may not be without their value, and to show that the place-names of Devonshire, unaided from any other source, yield much and certain information concerning that early period of history for which we are otherwise obliged to fall back upon legend; or to accept the vague, bald, statements of a chronicler, first reduced to writing when the tradition in which they originated had been worn down by the attrition of centuries. Etymological studies are commonly uncertain; the conclusions often ludicrous. As a rule too much is made of mere coincidences, and conclusions reached unauthorized by any wide generalization. Many of our derivations are mere guesses—happy or otherwise, as the case may be. Not long since it was suggested that because the chief priest of the Thibetan religion is called a *lama*, and because *beth* is the Hebrew for house, it did not as a matter of course follow that Lambeth took name from the residence of the primate of all England. We can all see the absurdity of such an etymology as that, but there are hundreds of derivations current not one whit less ridiculous, and we have our share of them in Devon.

To be unfettered in my enquiry, I have endeavoured to take what seems to me an independent course.* No doubt

* "Authorities" were not consulted until the results of the investigation had assumed definite shape, with the exception, for the Saxon words, of Bosworth's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, and, for the Keltic, of Williams's *Lexicon Cornu-Britannicum*.

many of my conclusions will seem as far-fetched to some of my hearers as those from which I am compelled to dissent do to me. Be it so. No etymologist is infallible; but the nearest approach to certainty will surely lie in the effort to be systematic, and in the attempt to pursue the investigation on scientific principles. At such system and science I have therefore aimed. The general principles which prescribe the direction of the investigation are sufficiently clear. Simple coincidence is of all things to be most distrusted; and the most plausible derivation may be questioned if some special fitness cannot be detected either in the place itself or in its belongings, among which, for the present purpose, may be classed its owners and its history. All place-names of primæval character have their meanings, and are revelations of the early history of the locality in which they are found. Commonly these names are descriptive of material peculiarities of the places to which they were given, not of any accident of ownership. Places gave name to people long before people gave name to places. The language of the description indicates the oldest race associated with the place with whose name we are dealing, of whom we have any knowledge. Except in one important class of cases, derivations of mixed language are to be avoided, save in the rarest instances. It is mere folly to divide a word into syllables, and then hunt about until we find some tongue in which each syllable may be twisted into a meaning. We have had one illustration on this head in Lambeth. Suppose we take Paignton for another. *Paign* corresponds very closely in sound with the French word *pain*, "bread," and *ton* is an English measure of weight that needs no description. Are we therefore to conclude that Paignton means "a ton of bread," and to see in the name some mysterious reference to the traditional Paignton charter-pudding? Mixed derivations are, however, common where a generic word in one tongue is supplemented by a specific word in another; or where, through lack of understanding, a common name is taken for a proper name, a generic or specific name attached, and a compound reduplicative or accumulative word produced. Finally, no derivation can be accepted with safety which is not consistent with the oldest-known form of the name under examination.

I shall deal in the first place with the river names, amongst which our oldest examples of nomenclature are to be found; then with the names of Dartmoor (our mountain names); and lastly with those of our parishes, supplemented by examples drawn from an examination of several thousand names of towns, villages, and farms. With so wide a basis

of investigation I hope that individual errors will be of little importance, and will not materially vitiate my general conclusions.

First for our rivers.

Reasoning *a priori* we should conclude that as a rule the largest rivers would be most retentive of their original names. This is clearly so in Devon. We have the Tamar, the Tavy, the Taw, the Torridge, and the Teign, a remarkable group, and unquestionably related, though Mr. Isaac Taylor * derives the last-mentioned from *don*. We have in all, however, the same root that we find in the names of the Thames, Tees, Tay, Tweed, Taff, and many other rivers; and there can be little doubt that this root is a generic word for water, probably to be found in the oldest branch of the Keltic tongue, and which we may take as *ta* or *tau*. For want of recognizing this relationship there has been much confusion and inconsistency in the attempts to deal with these names. Tamar has been derived from the Gaelic *tamh*, "gentle;" and it has been held that the Torridge somehow got its name from Torrington. If Mr. Kemble † is right in treating Torrington as the "tun" of the Thurings, this must be so; but I shall hereafter give reasons for believing the existence of clan names in Devon very mythical. Treating the root-word as meaning simply "water," we find that the final syllables in Tamar, Tavy, and Torridge, are really nothing more than distinctive suffixes in a later branch of the Keltic language, that which descended to the Cornish; closely allied to the Kymric, and which, for the sake of distinction, we will here call the Kornu. Endless difficulty has been created while attempting to deal with Cornish and Devonshire etymologies by forgetting that the Gaelic, the Kymric, and the Kornu-Keltic, or Kornu, were distinct branches of the Keltic tongue, and by endeavouring to square everything in the West of a Keltic character to Gaelic models. I think the Gaels, by whom I understand the Kelts of the wave immediately succeeding the first Keltic immigrants, understood the root-word, because they did not attempt further definition. But the Cornish branch of the Kymry treated this *ta* or *tau* as a proper name, and proceeded to distinguish one *tau* from the other by suitable affixes. Ta-*mar* is simply Ta-*mawr*, the "big Ta," "or water;" Ta-*vy*, Ta-*veor*, the "little Ta." In the *Taw* we have the root untouched; but Tor-*ridge* is Ta-*rhyd*,

* *Names and Places*, p. 219. † *The Saxons in England*, vol. i. appendix A.

the "ford Ta," the "ford" (*rhyd*) by which the Romans crossed that river being one of its most distinctive characteristics in early times. In *Teign* we may have Ta-*eign*, the "icy" or "cold Ta." The Exe and the Axe present no difficulty. They are clearly from the Gaelic *uisg*, "water," which we find also in the Esk, the Usk, and many another river name. We have *uisg* too in Ockment, but distinguished by a Kornu suffix, probably *maenic*, "stony," aptly descriptive of the bouldered bed of a Dartmoor stream. And it is probable that *uisg* also appears in *Ug*brook, but here with a Saxon reduplicant.

In the Avon we have *afon*, one of the commonest Kymric words for a river. The Dart alone of the larger rivers preserves a name of distinctly Kornu character. It is the same name as Derwent, which Mr. Taylor* renders "clear" water, from *dur-gwyn*. *Dwr* is the chief Kornu word for water, but *gwyn* really means "white;" and the "white water" is an epithet very fairly descriptive of a stream which tumbles and plashes so continuously around and over the obstructions in its course. The old form of Dartington is Darentun. There are, too, other Darts in Devon.

So far all is clear enough; but further investigations in this section are attended with some difficulty. Of the names of several of the smaller rivers, it would be unsafe to pronounce definitely whether they are Keltic or Teutonic; and some may be mixed. The names of many end in *y*—Yarty, Coly, Cory, Bovey, Meavy, Tiddy, Becky, Creedy, Torry, for example—and this *y* may be either the Kymric *wy*, Kornu *gy*, or Saxon *ea*, which alike mean "water." I do not think we can treat it as a diminutive.

There can be little doubt that the names of the Derle, Deer, Yealm, Bray, Tinhay, Torry, Coly, Kenn, Mole, Plym, and possibly the Otter, are of Keltic origin. In the Derle and Deer, and possibly in the Torry, *dwr* appears, and Otter may very well be *y-dwr*, "the water," though the suggestion that it was named after the animal of the same name is not wholly to be cast aside. Yealm, which has been found a difficult word to deal with, is probably from the Kornu *hayle*, a "river." The old form is *Yale*, and the modern name Yealm arises curiously enough from the Yale having given title to Yealmpton, *Yale-ham-tun*, the "enclosed dwelling on the Yale." In the contraction to Yealmpton the *ham* has been lost sight of, and the word read as the "*tun* of the Yealm." We have

* *Names and Places*, p. 209.

something of the same kind at Walkhampton, where a feeder of the Tavy is made to rejoice in the odd term of Walkham. The river is really the Walla, a common name for Dartmoor streams (perhaps from the Kornu *walla*, "lower," though Mr. C. Spence Bate, with more likelihood, takes it from the Kornu *wheala*, to "work"—*i.e.* in the tin streams*) and its valley the Walla-*cwm*. The *tun* of the Walla-cwm became Walkhampton, and the river the Walkham. As the familiar name of the place is Wackington, a golden opportunity has been lost of assigning it to the Wackings, so named from their stoutness in fight (!). We seem to have a name of the same class in the Batham, though here wholly of Saxon origin. *Baeth* is a Saxon word for water, whence "bath." Bampton is really *Bath-ham-tun;* misread as the "*tun* of the Batham." In Morebath the name of the river appears in its original form.

Plym has always been a crux, and I cannot be sure that I have solved its mystery. However, the oldest form is not Ply*m*, but Ply*n*, and "lin" is, with little doubt, the Kornu *lyn*, "a lake" (not the Saxon *hlynn*, a "stream," which we have in the Lyn river). The estuary of the St. Germans river is the *Lyn-her*, or "long lake;" and the P in Plyn may stand for *pen*, and thus give us the "head lake," or "head of the lake," if, as is possible, Plympton is the older word. In that case, I would suggest that Laira, or Lery, the name now given to the Plym estuary, may be the true name of the river. *Llar* is, however, "overspreading" in Kymric, which, with *wy* or *gy*, "water," would very well apply to the Laira as it is; or we may take the Kornu *le*, "a place," and *ryn*, "a channel." Still all this is mere speculation, and no satisfactory derivation has yet been suggested for the Meavy, one of the two streams which unite to form the modern Plym, if the Cad be a distinct river, and not the Plym itself. Chapple suggests *mwy* "enlarged or augmented" water.† We are in the same position with regard to the Erme, the root of which Polwhele found in Armenia, and hence held it indicative of Armenian colonization! Chapple doubtfully hints *iar*, "a river," prefixed to *am*, "water." Nor can I satisfy myself with regard to the Sid. I know of no Keltic root that will fit. *Sid* is "broad" in Saxon, which the river is not; and *cid*, or *cyd*, is "strife or contention," little less applicable. Nor will Chapple's *saeth*, "an arrow," do any better.‡ Mr. Pulman suggests *y-nant-sidin*, "the winding stream."§ In the Kenn and Mole and Bray we have apparently instances

* "The Etymology of Dartmoor Names." *Trans. Dev. Ass.*, vol. iv. part ii. p. 527. † *Review of Risdon*, p. 64. ‡ *Ibid*, p. 68. § *Local Nomenclature.*

of transference by Saxons, who, unaware that *cein* meant a "ridge" in Keltic, and *moel* and *bre* each signified a "hill," called the streams thence flowing by the names of the places whence they took their rise. Coly would be of the same class if derived from *col*, Kornu for "neck, or ridge," which would make Coleridge a reduplication; but *coll* is Kymric for "hazel." The Tinhay may be *Tin-gy*, Kornu, the "water in the bottom;" but query. The Culm *may* be from the Kornu *cam*, crooked; but this is also doubtful.

Only when we come to the smaller streams do we distinctly trace the Saxon. It is quite possible, nay, almost certain, that many of the minor affluents of the principal rivers had no distinctive name in early Keltic times; nor would they receive any until the county was more thickly populated. The Lyn and Batham have been mentioned; the Yeo is the Saxon *ea*, "water;" in the Lyd we have *hlyd*, "loud;" Clist is said to mean a "drain or dyke" (?). Chapple suggests Gaelic *leasg*, "sluggish."* In the Becky we have the northern form for a brook, *beck*. A point of considerable importance is the variety of the words used to designate the lesser streams. We have brook, beck, burn, bourn, lake, water, and fleet, beside the *gy* or *ea* which appear in the terminant *y*. With the possible exception of fleet, all these names are used to express precisely the same thing—a small stream of water, or rivulet—and they are all of Teutonic origin, though beck and burn and lake may be regarded as northern forms; as Norse rather than Saxon. Nor is this all. These words are not used interchangeably and at haphazard, but upon what appears a kind of system. It has been often pointed out that there is a peculiar local character about certain of our name-words; and Mr. R. J. King, in his presidential address at Torrington,† made some valuable remarks on this head. Mr. Spence Bate, in his "Etymology of Dartmoor Names,"‡ also gives important details on this very point. He says that on the Erme all the streams are known by the name of *lake*; on the Avon by that of *brooks*; on the Dart mostly as *burns*, but with some *brooks*; while on the Teign the latter word again reigns supreme. Fleet, always applied to a little stream having a tidal connection, we find on the south coast. Stonehouse Lake was once Stoke Damerel Fleet. There are Pomphlett on the Plym, Coffleet on the Yealm, Flete and Pamflete on the Erme, Warfleet on the Dart, and the stream which flowed down the main line of

* *Review of Risdon*, p. 62. † *Trans. Devon. Assoc.*, vol. vii. pp. 40-1.
‡ *Ibid*, vol. iv. part ii. pp. 525-6.

what is now the chief thoroughfare of Torquay to the harbour was, as we learn from Mr. White's interesting history,* known by the same name. This peculiar distribution of different names for the same thing points inevitably to the conclusion that the earliest Teutonic settlers in Devon were of various races, each with its own peculiarities of dialect. Mr. Spence Bate sees in the occurrence of names of Norse character in the basin of the Dart traces of Scandinavian intercourse, and to a certain extent I am inclined to agree with this, though without following him through all his deductions from that fact.

Secondly for Dartmoor.

When we turn from our rivers to that which we may term our mountains—Dartmoor—we are no longer confronted by words distinctly representing an elder race. The very name of the district is clearly quite modern by comparison with such vestiges of hoar antiquity as the names of our principal rivers. Had the size of the issuing streams alone dictated the appropriation of the title, there is little reason why *Teign*moor or *Taw*moor should not have stood on nearly equal terms with *Dart*moor; and hence we may conclude that the present name was given by men who were more familiar with the Dart, in its connection with the moor, than with any other of the moorland rivers. That these men were of Teutonic race is shown by the fact that they did not use the original name of the river, but its corrupted and contracted form. Dartmoor once had its distinctive Keltic name. That name can be traced no longer (unless indeed Dartmoor was the original *Deuffneynt*, the "land of deep valleys," whence we derive Devon), and with it, so far as nomenclature is concerned, has disappeared nearly all the evidence of Keltic occupation. At the first glance it may seem strange that just where there are the most important material traces of the existence of an aboriginal population; just where the Britons, driven to their fortresses, made the last stand against Saxon encroachment; we should now find fewer names of Keltic origin than anywhere else in the county. But it is not strange after all. The handing down of place-names to a race of alien tongue implies contemporaneity of acquaintance, if not of occupation. When Kelts and Saxons dwelt side by side, places as a rule would keep the names the elder dwellers had given them. If on Dartmoor the elder race were abso-

* *The History of Torquay*, p. 100.

lutely dispossessed, and the two never really contemporaneous, when the Britons were driven out the work of naming would have to be done over again by the conquerors. The paucity of Keltic names on Dartmoor thus leads me to conclude—first, that in the early days of Saxon colonization in Devon, Dartmoor remained practically a *terra incognita*; secondly, that when the Saxon did find his way into Dartmoor, the Briton was wholly expelled. These are two important points in the history of our county.

It is quite true that there are Keltic names associated with Dartmoor; but almost without exception they are those of places on the borders, with which Saxon dwellers in the lowlands might readily become familiar. Such are Manaton, *maen-y-dun*, the "stony hill;" Bowermans Nose, *veor-maen*, the "big stone"—*nose*, of course, is Saxon; Coryndon Ball, *caer-y-don*, the "hill camp"—Dr. Bannister* gives "Ball" as a "rounded hill;" Cosdon (commonly called Cawsand) Beacon, *cors-don*, the "moor hill;" Pen Beacon, and Pen Shiel, now Shell Top, in which we have the Kornu *pen*, a "head"—*shell* or *shiel* is a northern Teutonic form for a shed dwelling. Hamildon which *may* be *ymyl-don*, the "boundary hill," as Amicombe *may* be the "boundary coombe" or valley. And in connection with Hamildon it is not unimportant to note that *grim* is a Teutonic word for boundary. Grimspound is on Hamildon.† Beyond such names, and some of these are doubtful, those to which we can assign a definitely Keltic origin are few and far between. The *Walla* of the numerous Walla-brooks, is undoubtedly Keltic, and everything is in favour of Mr. Bate's derivation from *wheala*, as referring to the tin-stream works;‡ but as the Saxons must have had some acquaintance with these, they present no difficulty. Other names which may be cited are Clannaborough, which perhaps preserves the Kornu *llan*, "an enclosure;" Cowsick = *cau-izzack*, the "lower enclosure;" Dunnagoat, the final syllable of which is clearly the Kornu *coed*, "a wood;" while in *dun* we have "hill" = *dun-y-coed*, the "wooded hill;" and Henbury, *hen*, "old." Merrivale and Merripit (Meripit Hill), if they are Keltic in origin, have nothing merry about them. The most probable derivation is from the Kornu *marow*, "dead," while *vil* (query, whence vale), by the way, is a "thousand." All who know

* *Glossary of Cornish Names.*

† The similarity to Scandinavian personal names of several Dartmoor place-names, instanced by Mr. Spence Bate, may be explained by both being of kindred origin; for personal names in these days were descriptive likewise.

‡ See ante, p. 280.

the Moor are familiar with the fine series of pre-historic antiquities above Merrivale Bridge.

On the other hand, the names of most of the minor streams and of nearly all the tors are distinctive and descriptive in Saxon. Thus we have the Rattlebrook, Cherrybrook, Blackabrook, Redbrook, Middlebrook, Dedlake, Drylake, Langlake, Wid(e)burn, Har(higher)burn, and other such among the streams. Of the Tors we may note: Fox Tor, Vixen Tor, Hound Tor, Lynx Tor, some of which may be named after animals; Hey Tor = "high tor;" King Tor; Longaford Tor; Ger Tor; Lough Tor = "low tor;" the Staple or Steeple (? steep hill) Tors; Mis(t) Tor; Pew Tor, perhaps from the same root as "pew" in a church, in consequence of the singular rock enclosure of its summit (*pew* = literally a raised place); Rippon Tor (*rypan* to "tear up"—Saxon); Sharpitor = the "sharp tor;" Sittaford Tor (*sith*, a "path"—Saxon); Yes Tor (*yst* "storm"—Saxon).

Lints or Lynx Tor has been derived from the Kornu *lynnic*, "moist," and this may be so, though a trivial derivation from some fancied animal resemblance is not unlikely. Sheeps Tor is a modern corruption of Shittistor. There is considerable difficulty in dealing with words commencing with *ch* and *sh*, and sometimes *c* and *k*, as all four forms are occasionally interchanged, to the great confusion of etymology and etymologists; but whatever Sheepstor may have been, it is clearly not Keltic. Leather Tor has been traced to the Kornu *ledr*, a "cliff;" I would rather connect it with the Saxon *hlith*, a "declivity, slope." We see the uncertainty of many of our etymologies in such a word as Bottor, where *Bot* may be Kornu *bod*, a "house;" Gaelic *bot*, "fire;" or Saxon *botl*, a "dwelling," as in Bottle Hill, near Plympton. Stangator *may* have a connection with the Kornu *stean*, "tin." It is more likely that the *stanga* stands for "stony," which in Kornu would be *maenic*, as in Meneage. And thus with very few exceptions, even where the origin is doubtful, the Saxon derivation is at least as likely as the Keltic, while those names that are clearly Keltic are very few indeed.

Of course this hypothesis altogether annihilates the Dartmoor Druids. Evicted from the rock basins by the geologist, they cease to be tenants of the "wood of wise men." Almost equally it disposes of the theory which has named so many a tor after some god of "ancient heathenesse." There is not the slightest foundation for the supposition that we are to find a relic of the god Esus in Hessary, which is really Hisworthy; or to read Miser, the moon, in what is so self-evident

as Mist Tor. The name of the Dewerstone is as reasonably to be derived from the Keltic *dwr*, "water," as from the Saxon god *Tiw*. Nor is there any ground for Mr. Taylor's identification of *Sætere* in Satterleigh, or for his finding a mound dedicated to *Woden* enshrined in the name of Wembury. But of these more hereafter.

Bel in Belliver Tor and similar names may, as Mr. Taylor says, be either Teutonic, Celtic, or Semitic;* and it is therefore a very uncertain foundation for any theory. I shall found none upon it further than this, that *bael-fyr*, according to Bosworth, means a "funeral fire," and that Belliver, with the natural dialectic interchange of *v* for *f* common in the West, is precisely that phrase. The lighting of fires for various purposes on high places is a practice common to all nations, adopted for a variety of reasons, some superstitious and some purely secular. It is at least probable that *bel* may distinguish some eminences put to such a purpose, as we know that *brent* did in later times, and still more recently *beacon*, all prefixes or affixes found in or near Dartmoor.

The name of one notable Tor has yet to be noticed. That of Crockern Tor, says Mr. Taylor, "evidently refers to a deliberative assembly;"† and he connects it with the Welsh *gragan*, "to speak loud," whence he derives "croak." It is not perhaps going too far to suggest that we should never have heard of such a derivation as this, had not Crockern Tor been the seat of the old Tinners Parliaments, which have been assumed to continue a purely hypothetical ancient British deliberative assembly. We may reasonably believe that many of the members who assembled on the Tor were "croakers;" but that will not help us to the etymology of the names of such places as Crockernwell and Crockernford, which have no immediate connection with the Tor or its belongings, and which it is fair to suppose must have an allied origin. Crocker means simply "a man who makes crocks," a rough potter; and the Crocker family of Devon bore the canting arms of three crows, or "croakers." Prince notwithstanding, the Crockers never had anything to do with Crockern Tor; but there is nothing far fetched in the suggestion that we may have in its name a Devonshire version of the Crow Hills and Crow Castles, which are by no means uncommon in other parts of England. The Saxon, however, also gives us *croc*, a "barrow," and *ern*, a "place," or an "eagle;" and there is the Kornu *carreg*, a rock.

* *Names and Places*, p. 345. † *Ibid*, p. 308.

If Wistmans Wood refer to wise men at all, it may hand down the memory of the legislators whom Mr. Taylor treats with such irreverence; for they were wise, or should have been. Those who have suggested its relation to the Druids, have overlooked the fact that the name is Saxon, and not Keltic, at least in its present form. A very plausable Keltic derivation may be suggested indeed in *uisg-maen-coed*, the transference of which into Wistmans Wood is much more easy than the development of *cum-ta-coed*, "the wooded valley" in Cornwall, into "Come-to-good!" Only *uisg-maen-coed* would mean the "stony wood by the water," a most accurate description of the spot, but shutting the Druids out very completely.

If you compare the current names on Dartmoor with those of similar districts in Cornwall, you will see how thoroughly the British, who, as we know from the remains of their dwellings, inhabited the Moor in large numbers, must have been extirpated. Not only are the names almost wholly Saxon, but some of the most distinctive Kornu words appear to be altogether absent. There are one or two *pens*, a possible *llan*, and perhaps a *caer* or so; but the *tres* and the *pols* and the *cairns* disappear, and *worthy* replaces *llan*, and *bury cacr*, to such an extent as to become quite distinctive. There are "clapper bridges" on the Moor which date back to Keltic times; but where is the Kornu *pons?* We shall hardly, I think, agree to see it in Post Bridge; yet we do find it elsewhere in the county.

A fact which is largely suggestive also, is that in addition to the smaller streams of the Moor bearing for the most part Saxon titles, we should have such names as the East and West Dart, the East and West Okement, and the East and West Teign. These distinctions must have been the work of men who followed up the rivers from the lowlands at a time when the original Keltic names of the tributaries had been lost, and who knew as little which was the true Dart or the true Teign as our African explorers until recently did of the true Nile.

Thirdly, I come to our ordinary place-names.

For the basis of this branch of the enquiry the names of the elder parishes and towns, excluding subdivisions of the latter, are taken. They are fairly typical; and we may, as a rule, regard the places to which they belong as having been of special importance in very early days. They are nearly five hundred in number; and I have supplemented them

with a list of names of Keltic type, selected from the names of towns, villages, farms, and other places in the county generally.

The immense majority of our parish and town names are of Saxon origin; and with very few exceptions the remainder are Keltic. They are almost invariably descriptive, either of the character of the place, of its surroundings, of its position, of some peculiarity or special feature, or of ownership. Hence they afford valuable material for tracing the course of early history. As our first group let us take names indicative of settlement or residence.

Compounded with *tun*, an enclosure, whence "town," we have:—Alvington (East and West), Alphington, Alfington, Alwington, Arlington, Ashburton, Ashprington, Ashton, Atherington, Aveton Gifford, Bampton, Bicton, Nympton (Bishops, Georges, and Kings), Tawton (Bishops, North, and South), Teignton (Bishops and Kings), Blackawton, Boyton, Bratton (Clovelly and Fleming), Braunton, Brixton, Burrington, Charleton, Cheriton (Bishop and Fitzpaine), Chittlehampton, Clawton, Cockington, Cofton, Colaton (Raleigh and St. Mary), Colyton, Compton Gifford, Coryton, Crediton, Collumpton, Dartington, Dolton, Drewsteignton, Dunterton, Ermington, Feniton, Fremington, Halberton, Harberton, Hempston (Broad and Little), Highhampton, Holberton, Honiton, Ilsington, Kenton, Kilmington, Knighton, Lamerton, Lifton, Luton, Lynton, Manaton, Merton, Milton (Abbot, Damerel, and South), Okehampton, Monkokehampton, Monkton, Moretonhampstead, Molton (North and South), Newton (Bushel, Abbot, Ferrers, Poppleford, St. Cyres, St. Petrock, and Tracey), Otterton, Paignton, Pilton, Plympton (Erle and St. Mary), Puddington, Salterton (Budleigh and Woodbury), Seaton, Silverton, Slapton, Sourton, Sowton, Spreyton, Staverton, Talaton, Tamerton (Foliot and North), Templeton, Thorverton, Thrushelton, Tipton (Hellions and Pyne), Walkhampton, Werrington, Worlington (East and West), and Yealmpton.

Of the 117 *tuns* here set forth, some at least must be corrupted from *dun*, a "hill," whence "down," which like *cwm* or *coombe* for valley, is used both by Kelt and Saxon. Don and ton are very apt to be confounded, and the *dons* may as well therefore be added here — Brendon, Bittadon, Faringdon, Lewsdon, Marsdon, Sheldon.

Stocks come next to tuns in importance. A *stock* or *stoke* was an enclosure defended by palisading; in short, "stockaded." And thus we have Culmstock, Frithelstock, Plymstock, Revel-

stoke, Stoke Canon, Stoke Damerel, Stoke Fleming, Stoke Gabriel, Stoke Rivers, Stokenham, Stokeinteignhead, Tavistock, Tawstock, Tunstall (= Dunstock), Stockland and Stockleigh (Pomeroy and English).

Stowe, "a place," is nearly allied to *stoke*, and the two are occasionally interchanged. Of this class are Bridestowe, Instowe, Jacobstow, Maristow, Petrockstow, Staverton (= Stowfordton), and Stowford.

Stead, "a place," is only seen in Moretonhampstead.

Worthy is an enclosure of a less definitely defensive kind than a *tun* or a *stoke*. In this county it also assumes a more individual character. The parishes bearing this suffix are — Bradworthy, Bulkworthy, Cornworthy, Holsworthy, Pyworthy, Widworthy, Wembworthy, and two Wolfardisworthys. Verstegan* defines a *wearth* as "a place situated between two rivers," &c., and traces to this root the *weirs* of our rivers.

Bury, on the contrary, is distinctively warlike in its character, and commonly marks the site of an ancient camp, while in *borough* it approaches more nearly to the germ of our modern idea of a *tun* or town. We have—Ashbury, Berry (Narbor and Pomeroy), Bigbury, Blackborough, Broadhembury, Cadbury, Clannaborough, Cookbury, Countesbury, Denbury, Kentesbury, Malborough, Membury, Modbury, Musbury, Payhembury, Posbury, Roborough, Sidbury, Thornbury, Ugborough, Wembury, Wolborough, and Woodbury.

Ham is the common Saxon word for dwelling, and occurs with moderate frequency— Abbotsham, Brixham, Chittlehampton, Chittlehamholt, Dittisham, Georgeham, Gittisham, Huntsham, Highampton, Huxham, Littleham, Marhamchurch, Moretonhampstead, Northam, Okehampton (?), Otterham, Parkham, Powderham, Sydenham, Stokenham, Topsham, Walkhampton (?).

Cot is one of the characteristic Devonshire suffixes. It means very much what we now understand by a "cottage," of which it is the root. We find it in the names of only five parishes—Alverdiscott, Luffincott, Tetcot, Escot, and Harracot. This, as compared with its general comparative frequency, is some indication that the cots were originally of little importance. *Sell*, a cottage superior to cote, appears in Zeal Monachorum; and in Huish we may probably see the Saxon *hus*, "a house."

Week, for *vic* or *wic*, an "abode" (strictly, according to Mr.

* *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence.*

Kemble, a "country house," as of a king or bishop), is found in Germansweek, Highweek, and Pancrasweek.

Will and *well* also stand in Saxon for an "abode," though the latter form is often undistinguishable from *well*, a spring or natural reservoir of water. Probably the well in most of the following has the residential meaning, but Holwell in all likelihood = Holywell: Abbotskerswell, Coffinswell, Dunkerswell, Kingskerswell, Loddiswell, Offwell, Ogwell (East and West), and Shirwell. We may have here too the Norman-French *ville*.

For our second group we take names indicative of position.

A large number of parishes, and a still larger number of other places, are named after the rivers on whose banks they stand. Hence we have—

Ashburton, from the *Ashburn*, now the Yeo.
Axminster and Axmouth, from the *Axe*.
Aveton Gifford and Blackawton, from the *Avon*.
Ermington, from the *Erme*.
Broad Clyst, Clyst Fomison, Clysthidon, Clyst Honiton, Clyst St. George, Clyst St. Mary, and Clyst St. Laurence, from the *Clyst*.
Collaton Raleigh, Colaton St. Mary, and Colyton, from the *Coly*.
Crediton, from the *Creedy*. Mr. T. Karslake suggests a Keltic dedication to St. Creed as the origin of the name of the town, and thence of the stream.*
Collumpton, Culmstock, and Uffculme, from the *Culme*.
Dartington and Dartmouth, from the *Dart*.
Exbourne, Exminster, Exeter, Exmouth, and Netherexe, from the *Exe*.
Broadhempston and Littlehempston, from the *Hems*.
Harberton and Harbertonford, from the *Harburn*.
Ide and Ideford, from the *Ide;* unless indeed the former parish gave title to the stream, from its dedication to St. Ida—another hint for which we are indebted to Mr. Karslake.*
Silverton, from the *Silver*.
Thrushelton, from the *Thrustle*.
Kenn and Kenton, from the *Kenn*.
Northlew, Lew Trenchard, and Lifton, from the *Lew*.
Bampton and Morebath, from the *Bath*(*am*).
Lydford, from the *Lyd*.
Lynton, from the *Lyn*.
North and South Molton, and Molland, from the *Mole*.
North Bovey and Bovey Tracey, from the *Bovey*.

* "Traces of the Ancient Kingdom of Danmonia outside Cornwall." *Brit. Arch. Ass. Journal*, vol. xxxiii.

Otterham, Ottery St. Mary, Otterton, Upottery, and Ven Ottery, from the *Otter*.

Okehampton and Monkokehampton, from the *Okement*.

Plymouth, Plympton, and Plymstock, from the *Plym* (?). But see *ante* on the derivation of the Plym.

Sidbury and Sidmouth, from the *Sid*.

Torrington (Black, Great, and Little), from the *Torridge*.

Tawton (North, South, and Bishops), from the *Taw*.

Talaton, from the *Tale*.

Tamerton Foliot and North Tamerton, from the *Tamar*.

Mary Tavy, Peter Tavy, and Tavistock, from the *Tavy*.

Bishops and Kings Teigntons, Teignmouth, Teigngrace, Drewsteignton, and Coombe and Stoke inteignhead, from the *Teign*.

Walkhampton, from the *Walkham*.

Yealmpton, from the *Yealm*.

Yarcombe and Yarnscombe, from the *Yarty*.

A numerous class of names is compounded with *ford*. This is natural; for in early days fording places were localities of the first importance as a means of keeping up communication. We have Ashford, Beaford (by-ford), Bideford (by-the-ford), Bradford (broad-ford), Brampford Speke, Bridford, Brushford, Chagford, Diptford (deep-ford), Dunsford, Eggesford, Harford (higher-ford), Harpford, Harbertonford, Ideford, Ilfracombe (originally Ilfordcombe), Lapford, Lydford, Newton Poppleford, Okeford, Putford (East and West), Rackenford, Sampford (Courtenay, Peverill, and Spiney), Sandford, Shillingford, Sherford, Stowford, Staverton (stow-ford-ton), Tiverton (two-ford-town), and Washford Pyne.

Bridges are few in number, and all of later date—Bridgerule, Horrabridge (higher-bridge), Ivybridge, Kingsbridge, Swymbridge, and Thelbridge.

Of other names in which a general connection with streams is shown we have: *Burn* in Ashburton, Harberton, Harbertonford, Tedburn, and Exbourne; *brook* in Colebrooke, Dodbrook, and Shobrook; *water* in Ashwater; and finally *shute*, in Shute, which means specially a narrow rapid stream, a "water spout." The Shute brook is also called the Umborne.

The Keltic *cwm* and the Saxon *coombe*—"a valley," supply many names, and show how much more in favour sheltered positions were for settlement than those which were exposed. I find Ashcombe, Awliscombe, Babbacombe, Branscombe, Burlescombe, Challacombe, Coombeinteignhead, Coombe (Martin, Pyne, and Raleigh), Creacombe, Doddiscombesleigh, Haccombe, Holcombe (Burnell and Rogus), Hollacombe,

Ilfracombe, Parracombe, Salcombe (salt-combe, and Regis), Sutcombe (south-combe), Welcombe, Widdecombe, Withecomb Raleigh, Yarcombe, Yarnscombe.

On the other hand we have only three ridges—Coleridge, Oldridge, and Witheridge; but it should be remembered that a very large proportion of the *burys* are in high situations chosen for defence.

In the next group we may place names indicative of the condition of the localities at the time the names originated.

The most numerous and important class of this section includes the names in which *leah*, *leigh*, *ley* appears, originally "an open place in a wood." This subsequently came to mean little more than a field. We may identify it with the *pasture* of *Domesday*, and may fairly assume that where we find it large clearings formerly existed. Here we have Bickleigh (2), Bondleigh, Buckfastleigh, Budleigh (East and Salterton), Butterleigh, Cadeleigh, Calverleigh, Chawleigh, Chumleigh, Chudleigh, Clovelly, Cotleigh, Doddiscombsleigh, Filleigh, Gidley, Goodleigh, Hatherleigh, Hittisleigh, Iddesleigh, Inwardleigh, Kennerleigh, Lustleigh, Mariansleigh, Monkleigh, Morleigh, Northleigh, Satterleigh, Southleigh, Stockleigh (English and Pomeroy), Stoodleigh, Throwleigh, Warkleigh, Westleigh, Winkleigh, Woodleigh.

Ing is Saxon for a "meadow," and occurs in several parish names. It answers to the *pratum* of *Domesday*; but has been interpreted by some authorities in the sense of a clan name. Mr. Taylor, following Mr. Kemble,* gives as the clan names of Devon—The Ælings, whence Allington; Ecgings, Eckington; Ælphings, Alphington; Arlings, Arlington; Ermings, Ermington; Burrings, Burrington; Cyllings, Chillington; Dartings, Dartington; Holings, Holington; Lullings, Lullington; Paetings, Puddington; Walsings, Washington; Wiltings, Willington; Waerings, Werrington; Thurings, Torrington.

This list, however, by no means covers the *ings* of the county; for we have *ing* parishes in addition—Ashprington, Atherington, Bickington, Cockington, Faringdon, Fremington, Ilsington, Kilmington, and Worlington. Shillingford I do not include, because I derive it from *shealing*, a rude shelter, a word still common in the North. I will not go so far as to say that there are no clan names in Devon; but we should require very strong evidence before we admitted the majority of those assumed. The likeliest is perhaps the Ælphings, who may be held to appear in Alvington, Alphington,

* *Names and Places*, pp. 518, 537. *Saxons*, vol. i. Appendix A.

Alfington, and Alwington; but the suggestion that Ermington is not named from the Erme, Dartington from the Dart, and Torrington from the Torridge, only requires to be stated to refute itself. These assumed clan names, if genuine, would infer the existence in the county of the ancient division of the *mark* in a well-recognised form; but it does not seem likely that Devonshire became Saxon at such a date and in such a way as to allow of this form of common land being established as a general system. The personal element in ownership had made some advance when the conquest of the county was effected.

Tree names play a prominent part in our nomenclature.

The *Ash* gives us Ashburton, Ashbury, Ashcombe, Ashford, Ashprington, Ashreigny, Ashton, Ashwater, and probably Roseash, though there and in Ashwater *wisg* may be concealed.

From the *oak* we have Egg Buckland, Dunchideock, Eggesford, Haccombe, Hemyock, Hockworthy, Hennock, and perhaps Ugborough, Okeford, and Ogwell (?), though certainly not Okehampton.

The *birch* appears in Bickington (2), Bickleigh (2), Bicton and Bigbury.

The *beech* is probably found in Buckerill and Bucks Mill, doubtfully in Buckfastleigh; but I do not think it has place in either of our eight Bucklands. *Bo*cland, land held by charter, is at once the simplest and the most intelligible etymology. Verstegan, however, makes bocland equivalent to beechland.

Withycombe, and perhaps Widdecombe, may be named from *withy*, or, again, may simply express width. *Aller* = "alder," is a place-name of tolerably frequent occurrence. Dodbrook *may* belong to this class; but see under personal names.

Heavi*tree*, Lang*tree*, and Plym*tree* have been regarded as preserving the Kornu *tre*, "a place," analogous to *tun*. This is clearly an error. The Kornu *tre* is *never* used as a suffix; and we have here simply "Heavy tree,"* "Long tree," and "Plum tree," the Saxon *treow*. There is nothing remarkable in a place being named after some particular tree. Appledore, which occurs more than once in the county, is *æppuldre*, Saxon for "apple tree," and not *an-pul-dur*, Kornu for "the water-pool," as that near Bideford may very plausibly be rendered. Rattery is probably a name of the same class;

* Perhaps, as Mr. Davidson thinks, the "*Hive tree*." *Trans. Dev. Ass.*, vol. viii. p. 400.

and of miscellaneous trees we have Holne, *holly*, and Chevi*thorne* and *Thorn*bury, &c.

Names denoting collections of trees occur so frequently as to show that Keltic and Saxon Devon must have been a well-wooded country.

Wood itself is found in Broadwoodkelly, Broadwoodwidger, Cornwood, Dalwood, St. Giles-in-the-Wood, Horwood, Marwood, Woodbury, Woodland, and Woodleigh.

Holt, a "coppice," is seen in Chittlehamholt.

Sceacga, "rough coppice," occurs in Chagford (Brushford has very nearly the same meaning), Shobrooke, Huntshaw, Meshaw, and Shaugh; and *spinney*, an allied word, is found in Sampford Spiney. *Hurst* and *dingle* are rare with us, and not found in our parish names.

But the most noteworthy word in this connection is the constantly-recurring *beer*, which is found in the varying forms *bera*, *berah*, *beer*, *bear*, and *bere*. It enters into the names of only seven parishes, Aylesbeare, Beer (East Devon), Beer Ferrers, Kentisbeare, Loxbere, Rockbeare, and Shebbear; but it is found in at least eighty other instances in every part of the county. Mr. Taylor* treats it as identical with the Danish test word *by*, which would make Devon rather more Danish than the counties of the Danelagh. It would not be difficult to show the historic baselessness of the suggestion. We could not believe, for example, that the Danes, when they found their way up the Tavy and ravaged Tavistock and its neighbourhood, were plundering their own colonies, at Beeralston and other places in the neighbourhood; or that after the raid they would have been suffered to leave such colonies behind them; and yet if Beer was ever a *by*, one of the horns of this dilemma must be accepted. Elaborate argument is not, however, needed. The word is plainly the Saxon *beera*, "a grove," and its abundance is another indication of the aspect of Devonshire in those distant days. The only *by* I know is Huckaby, in Lydford.

Stone, which may in some cases, where the prefix ends in *s*, be confounded with *tun*, gives us Bradstone, Belstone, Chivelstone, Knowstone, Lympstone, Thurlstone, and Whitstone; and in another adaptation Stonehouse.

Wash, a "marsh," is seen in Sheepwash, Washfield, and Washford Pyne. *Fen* Ottery and *Fen*iton have the same meaning.

Heath occurs in St. Giles-in-the-Heath and Hatherleigh.

* *Names and Places*, pp. 164, 187.

Down is found in Down (East, West, and St. Mary), Dowland, Lew Down, and Roosdown.

Our last group contains names of which the main feature is the manner in which they are distinguished by means of adjectival or personal prefixes and suffixes. Here we class the names which indicate relationship and possession.

The points of the compass are used to distinguish places of the same name from each other in the list under review in nearly forty instances. Thus we have *East* and *West* Alvington, and *North* and *South* Molton, and their fellows, while occasionally we find East, West, North, or South, used without its correspondent.

High and *higher* frequently occur; as in Highbury, Highhampton, Highweek, Harford, Horrabridge (*hearu*, Saxon "higher"). Hoe, or Hooe, an older form, is found both by itself, and as a suffix; *e.g.* Morthoe, "the highland of Mort."

Up appears in such names as Uploman, Uplyme, and Upottery.

Down, as in East and West Down, and Lew Down, however, comes from *dun*, and belongs to the previous group.

Distinctions of size appear in *Great* and *Little* Torrington.

Of age, in the six *New*tons, the *New*port, and probably in *Old*ridge, with many other instances outside the parishes.

Colour we find in *White*stone and *White*church.

Blackawton, Blackborough, and Black Torrington may derive from *bleak;* while if a Norse origin could be established we should have to regard black as white, for the latter is the meaning of *blakka*.

But the most frequent distinction of quality is the use of the prefix *broad*, which appears as Broad, Brad, Brat, and Brid, as in Broadclyst, Bradstone, Bratton Clovelly, and Bridford. Thirteen parishes are thus distinguished.

Widdecombe may be *wide*-comb, or withy-comb.

Charlton and Charlwood (Ashcombe) undoubtedly give us *ceorl*, a "husbandman."

The second class is a very large one, and includes over forty parishes, which still bear the name of their former owners, though, with one exception, the connection has ceased to exist. Thus, in addition to many manors which do not come within our present intention, we have parishes claiming the names of Raleigh, Gifford, Narbor, Cruwys, Pomeroy, Tracey, Speke, Brewer, Pyne, Fleming, Fitzpaine, Ferrers, Hidon, Burnell, Rogus, Trenchard, Damerel, Rowland, Courtenay, Peverell, Gabriel, Rivers, Foliott, Mohun, Hellions, Reigney, Bushel. *Bishop* is the usual prefix identifying

episcopal properties, while that of *King* indicates Royal manors.

These however without exception are posterior to the Conquest. The personal names of Saxon date to be found among our parish names are very few: Alverdiscott (Alwards-cot), Brixton (Brictrics-ton), Dittisham (Didas-ham), Gittisham (Githas-ham), Topsham (Topas-ham ?), Dunkerswell (Doducesville in *Domesday*), possibly Dodbrook and Doddiscombesleigh, Loddiswell, Wolfardisworthy (Wolfhards-worthy), and Wolborough (Ulfs-borough ?). Dodda occurs as a personal name before the Conquest, and it may have originated from the water plant *dod*, which Verstegan says in his time was called by the boys "foxtail." It is more likely that Dodbrook came directly from the plant, than immediately from the personal form, Dodda.

An important and numerous sub-class contains the names which show connection with the church, the prefix or suffix of Abbot, Bishop, Monk, or Prior, being the most usual, and the later form. Abbots have given a distinguishing title to five parishes; Bishops to the same number; Monks to the same; while Priors have to be content with two. The possessions of these dignitaries are commonly opposed to those of the king; and monk-ownership also appears in the Latin form in Buckland and Zeal Monachorum. Thirty-one (thirty-three if Crediton and Ide are reckoned) parishes are distinguished by the names of the saints to whom they were dedicated; in two appears *minster;* in one *temple;* and in seven *church.* Thus we have

Abbots Bickington, *Abbotsham*, Abbots Kerswell, Milton Abbot, and Newton Abbot.

Bishops Nympton, Bishops Tawton, Bishops Teignton, Cheriton Bishop, and Morchard Bishop.

Dean Prior and Shaugh Prior.

Buckland Monachorum, *Monkleigh*, Monkokehampton, *Monkton*, and Zeal Monachorum.

Buckland-tout-Saints, St. Budeaux, *Christow*, Clyst St. George, Clyst St. Laurence, Clyst St. Mary, Collaton St. Mary, Down St. Mary, St. Giles-in-the-Heath, St. Giles-in-the-Wood, *Germansweek*, St. Thomas, *Instow* (Johns-stow), *Jacobstow*, *Mariansleigh*, Marychurch, Mary Tavy, Newton St. Cyres, Newton Petrock, Nymett St. George, Ottery St. Mary, *Pancrasweek*, Peters Marland, Peter Tavy, *Petrockstow*, Plympton St. Mary, Plympton Maurice (also Erle), Tedburn St. Mary, and *Virginstow.*

Axminster and *Exminster.*

Templeton.

Church Stanton, *Churchstow*, *Churston*, Honeychurch, Marhamchurch, Marychurch, and Whitchurch.

The most important names here are those italicised, which clearly date back to Saxon, if not to Keltic times, and mark the places where, so far as names give any evidence, Christianity was first planted within this county. The existence of traces of the British church in Devon is established by Mr. Karslake in his paper read at the meeting of the Royal Archæological Society at Exeter, based upon the dedications to British saints still existing in Exeter (the parishes of which are not included in this list),* *The Celt and the Teuton in Exeter;* and in his *Traces of the Ancient Kingdom of Dumnonia outside Cornwall*, read at the Cornish Congress of the British Archæological Association.†

Several names of Saxon origin remain to be noted which, where they do come within the preceding classes, have yet some distinctive peculiarity which calls for remark. The Nymett parishes are among the most important. Mr. Taylor defines *nymett* as "a sacred grove;" Mr. R. J. King, in his presidential address at Torrington,‡ held it to indicate an enclosure, what is now known on Dartmoor as an "intake," and argued so conclusively that we must regard Bishops Nympton, Nymett Tracey, George Nympton, and Nymett Rowland, as marking sites where in Saxon times the process of individual enclosure and appropriation, at least in that district, had beginning. Morchard appears to be a word of kindred bearing. *Mor* is no doubt "moor," and *chard* I am inclined to derive from *scearn*, Saxon "cut off," which we see in *share*. We find no word of like meaning among the Keltic names yet in being. So, probably, in Sherford and Sherwell (compare *shire*).

The peculiar grouping of some of the place-names of Devonshire has already been marked. It applies purely to those of Saxon origin. The *tun*, the ordinary enclosure, is scattered all over the county, and can hardly be termed predominant anywhere, though perhaps less frequent in the north-west than in the south. The *stocks* are most commonly associated with our navigable rivers, then the great highways of marauders into the county, and needing to be furnished with rallying-places and strongholds. The three most notable marks of Saxon occupation are however to be found in the words *worthy*, *cot*, and *hay;* and these have a peculiar and distinctive distribution. *Worthy* is most common on the borders of Dartmoor, and particularly to the south and west; *cot* is almost peculiar to the west and north-west; *hay* has its

* *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxx. † See *Journal*, vol. xxxiii.
‡ Already cited.

centre in the east. Of the three, *cot* is the most frequent, *hay* next in order, and *worthy* last. The special distribution of these words supplies some indication of the manner in which the Saxon settlement of Devon progressed. We may, as a rule, assume the *tun*, as the ordinary form of enclosure, to be the earliest, and *stock* to indicate a special need for defence. Upon *bury* we cannot place much reliance; for very large numbers of the camps to which the Saxon gave this name must have been formed and used by his predecessors. The idea of protection which is so prominent in *stock*, and which we recognise in a lesser degree in *tun*, appears in *worthy* in a still more modified sense. It is an enclosure indeed, but with another object; and although the authorities cited by Camden vary between a "court, place, fort, isle, possession, and farm," we may fairly conclude that in Devonshire the word assumes rather the latter position. Most of the *worthys* in all probability date subsequently to the expulsion of the Britons, and were farm places, with enclosures to protect the cattle and sheep and hogs from the ravages of the wild beasts. The fact that Dartmoor was the chief stronghold of the wolf in the county will account for the frequency of the *worth* or *worthig* on its borders. And it is notable, too, that *worthys* not unfrequently bear names indicative of their owners—Gaudsworthy, Bixworthy, Ditsworthy, Troulsworthy, Ebbsworthy, Alfordsworthy, Colsworthy, Yadsworthy, and the like – a distinct proof of later origin.

Cot or *cote* almost explains itself. Everybody knows what a cottage is; and we may regard a cote as a little individual settlement among the wooded uplands, where some mud-walled (cob) thatched hut sheltered the squatting Saxon and his family, who picked up their living in the woods around as best they might, with the frequent aid of the pig, so dear to the cotter's heart even now. *Cots* are of less importance than *worthys*, but of much the same date. They are so far associated that in many cases we may regard the occupier of the worthy, and the occupier of the cot, as bearing much the same relation to each other as the modern farmer and labourer. The cots have among them not a few personal names. Alscot, Winscot, Gilscot, Hunscott, Cudscott, Ellacott, Helscott, Coulscot, Breinscot, Bruscot, Aylescot, Nescote, are probably of this class; and we find also such names as Upcott, Goodcot, Westcot, Northcot, Eastcot, Middlecot, Nethercot, Narracot, Widdacot, and what is peculiarly noteworthy, as an indication of the character of some of the occupants, *Smith*acott, and *Herd*acott. Prestacott, which is of frequent

occurrence here, has however nothing to do with priests; *pres* is a "common" or "meadow."

Hay, hayes, and *hayne* are words of a different class. They have nothing to do with residence, but answer very closely to a modern pasture-field. They indicate enclosures of pasture or meadow-land; and their prevalence in the east of the county seems to show that it was of a less wooded character at the time when agriculture took this step in advance. There is more variety in the prefixes of this class than in any other, and they seem to have been named very much in the same trivial manner as modern fields are, and as the *parcs* of Cornwall, which correspond to these Devonshire hays. As examples I may quote—Tuckenhay, Sparkhayne, Wadhayes, Sunhayes, Wishaies, Rockenhayes, Bluehayes, Culverhayes, Gladhayes, Axhayes, Courthays, Gittishayne, Shiphays, Streethayne, Twitchayne, Stanhays, Coombhayne, Jenishays, Woodhays, Garlandhaies, and Rockenhayne.

There are many name traces of the Northmen in Devon, though we have to reject Mr. Taylor's identification of *beer* with *by*. Mr. C. Spence Bate holds that the names on and around the Dart and its branches "demonstrate that at a very early date a horde of Scandinavian adventurers forced their way up the Dart, and perhaps the Teign also, and occupied the tin stream works at the head of the Eastern Dart and Teign."

If we eliminate from the argument the names that are capable of Saxon etymology, this appears too wide a deduction. For example, Thurlstone is simply the *thirled* (or "pierced") *rock*. From its singular natural arch then, and not from Thor, did Thurlstone parish take its name; and there is no reason to assign any other origin to Thurlstone Tor—an equivalent of the Kornu *tol-maen*. As to Thurshelton, which Mr. Taylor says is of the Icelandic type, "denoting the *tun*, or enclosure, round the skaaler or wooden booths, which were usually erected at some little distance from the Thingveller," * it is really sufficient answer to point out that Thrushelton stands on the *Thrustle* river, a name which appears of the same class as the *Rattle* brook. That there are however names of Norse type and origin in Devon is certain. We have *beck* in Becky river; *gyll*, a "ravine," in Fingle Bridge; *force*, a "waterfall," as in Humber Forces, to which Mr. Spence Bate directs attention, or Forches in Lapford. *Shiel*, a "shieling," a distinctly northern form for a

* *Names and Places*, p. 313.

shed, is of frequent occurrence; and all along the south coast the characteristic *ness* for promontory appears. These are traces unmistakable of Norse influence in the county, and of the settlement herein at least of some of Scandinavian race. Nor is the occurrence of the name "Sewer" in the neighbourhood of the Bolt, to which Mr. King refers in the address already cited, without considerable weight. The suggestion for which we are indebted to him, that in Sewer we may recognize *sea-ware*, "sea-folk," points distinctly to the settlement of Norsemen. Mr. Taylor refers Satterleigh to the god Sætere, and Wembury to Woden. It is singular that in both these names we should indeed have evidence of the Scandinavian, but in quite a different direction. While we have so good a Norse etymology as *seter*, "a dwelling, or seat," for the former, there is no need to go further afield; and as for Wembury, instead of implying "the existence of a mound or other erection dedicated to Woden," * it is one of our most interesting and valuable historical links. The oldest form of Wembury is Wicanbeorge. *Beorge*, of course, is "bury," and *Wican* is *wiceng*, or "viking." Here then we have "the Norsemen's earthwork," a distinct proof yet subsisting of the truth of the tradition that it was at Wembury, Ceorl, ealdorman of Devon, defeated the Danes, in 851. And Revelstoke bears out this view if we may derive revel from *reafere*, a "rover, robber." *Reafful* = "rapacious."

I hesitate to cite Totnes in this connection. It may be Keltic, or Saxon, or Norse, or neither, though it certainly is not the French *tout l'aise!* Mr. Bate makes it the "village under the hill," and quotes the existence of a Totnais near Stockholm. Others have made it the "rocky town." But the chief thing to be noted is that the name first appears as that of a coast line, "the Totnes shore," and not of a town. It is quite possible that Totnes, the town, may have nothing to do with the *Totonesium litus*. Clearly it is not at the present Totnes we are to seek the origin of the name. A Saxon derivation that would fit Totnes *town* quite as well as any other would be from *Tot*, an "enclosure," and *ey*, an "island"—Tot-an-eys—allied to Tottenham, and associated with the island by the bridge, one of the Dart's most notable features. The original Totnes, I am half inclined to regard as of Keltic origin, and neither more nor less than an old name for this part of Britain. Perhaps instead of *ness*, a "headland," we should read *enys*, an "island"; and *Tot* may

* *Names and Places*, p. 341.

be equivalent to the *Dod* or *Dodi*, which we have in the Dod of the well-known Cornish headland, the Dodman, and which there is interpreted, "mark or position," *i.e.* dodmaen = "the prominent stone, or rock." Thus we may read Totenys the "projecting or prominent island," a name by no means inapplicable to this western peninsula.

With names of Roman origin I do not intend on the present occasion to deal. They are mostly confined to the use of *chester;* as in Exchester, Exanceaster, Excester, Exeter, and to words which indicate association with some of the ancient roads. Names of the latter class are by no means uncommon. We have Orway, Oldaway, Farway, Solway, Oxenway, Shurway, Broadway, Whiteway, Northway, Elverway, Reddaway, Greenway, Ridgeway, Helway, Holloway; Harepath, Sticklepath, Gappath; Colridge (?), Bromridge, Dorridge, Cutridge, Oldridge, Horridge, Cherridge, Stoldridge, Stouridge; True Street, Hare Street, Dark Street, Bow Street, &c. Ford in some instances may also be held to mean a road, retaining its original wide use. Most of the road-names give us little clue to the origin of the trackways which they designate; but the *streets* are commonly held to be of Roman descent; and some at least of the ridges indicate a road raised and dyked like the Fosseway. Sticklepath is from the Saxon *stigel*, "steep." Twitchen, which occurs as the name of a parish and elsewhere, means "the two ways"; *i.e.*, a place situated where a road forks. Cold Harbour (= shelter), generally held to indicate the neighbourhood of a Roman road, occurs more than once.

Before turning to the Keltic section of our nomenclature, we may pass a few miscellaneous Saxon names more closely under review: Atherington may give us *heath*, "heather," as in Hatherleigh. Barnstaple is one of the very few words which have any connection with trade; for *staple* meant originally a settled mart, or market. The greater Torrington has a more distinctive title in its form of Chipping Torrington, precisely equivalent to the use of the prefix "market," as seen in Market Bosworth; and *port*, as in Newport, means originally "an enclosed place for sale and purchase—a market."* Bradninch is Bradnese in *Domesday;* but the second syllable is hardly the Norse *ness*. Bridgerule has been identified as Raoul's Bridge, which is possible. Muckford (Bishops Nympton) needs no comment. Brixton, *Domesday* reveals to be a name of ownership, for it there appears as Bristrichestone, "Brictrics-tun." Wabblewall in this parish should be the

* Kemble's *Saxons*, vol. ii. p. 550.

"bubbling well"—*wabble*, to "burst out, bubble," and *wall*, "well." The *hem* in Hembury, Broadhembury, Hemyock, &c., is probably the Saxon word for boundary, and gives these places a frontier character. Staffordbeer in Broadwoodkelly should be Stowford. Calverleigh appears to embody *culver*, a "pigeon," which occurs in a prefix to certain hayes. The names of animals do not however fill a prominent place in our local nomenclature. Brockscombe, in Bratton Clovelly, is of course the badgers-combe (*brock* is still used for badger). I do not know whether *Wolfs*grove in Bishops Teignton is an old name or not. Swincombe, which occurs more than once, should be *Swinecombe*. In Chawleigh (*shaw*) we have Leaches. May this not be the Saxon *lecehus*, "an inn"? In Clayhanger we have the Saxon *clay* and Norse *hangr*, a "mound." Clovelly, like the *cleaves* on Dartmoor, comes from the Saxon *cleafan*, whence cliff = the "cliff place." Colebrook seems to embody *coln*, a "pebble," Saxon. *Coll* is Kornu for hazel; but we have the "pebbly ford" in Newton Poppleford. Dalwood — *dael*, a part, or *dale*. Tigley in Dartington—*tig*, a "tile" = "tilefield," a name of the same class as our modern brickfields, and interesting as marking the site of a Saxon pottery. Drewsteignton is commonly rendered, since the Druidic hypothesis was abandoned, "Drogos," or "Drewes-Teign-tun;" but it is possible that the first syllable is from the Kornu *deru*, an oak. Frithelstock can hardly be derived from any other root than the Saxon *frith*, "peace." *Frith-stow* would be a "peace-place; and though a *stock* does not savour much of anything so amicable, still it may have been the site of a treaty. Sigford in Ilsington has a double etymology, between which I cannot undertake to decide – *sige*, "victory," *sich*, "dry" (Kornu); I incline to the latter. The original form of Ilfracombe is Ilfordcombe, which should tell its own story. Lapford, from *lappa*, a "boundary." Here is a place bearing the suggestive name of Saxons. Loxbeare and Loxhore; query *locig*, an "enclosure." Malborough seems to be connected with Marldon and Modbury, also with Motion, near Exeter. *Mal* is "a spot or place of meeting;" *mot*, a "meeting;" *motern*, a "meeting place." If these derivations are correct, places so named must once have been of some importance. Marwood (Merehode in *Domesday*), *mere*, a "lake," as in Cran*mere* = "the Cranes lake" on Dartmoor. Oreston in Plymstock—the "tun on the shore;" *ora*, "the shore," or the "shore stone." *Port* appears in several names, but not to all appearance derived from the Kornu *porth*, a "harbour." In Portle-

mouth we have the word in its sense of harbour; in Newport, of a market-place; and in Portgate, in Stowford, an apparent reduplication. Rackenford, query *racu*, a "flood." Rewe, query *hraew*, a "corpse." Lammacraft in Stokenham = *lam*, loam, and *croft*, a "small enclosure." Grenofen, near Tavistock = *green-ofer*, "green margin" (?). Lessland (South Tawton), *leswe*, a "pasture." Sindercombe, in Twitchen, in some localities might fairly be supposed to derive its name from the scoria of ancient furnaces. Essabeer (Witheridge and elsewhere) = "ash grove." Kingsbridge, the "King's burgh" (Mr. Dymond's identification really admits of no question). In Kingswear the second syllable cannot be what is now understood by "weir," and the first is doubtfully "kings" in the modern sense. *Cant-ware* would be "dwellers by the headland." In Warfleet, on the other side of the Dart, nearer the river's mouth, we have without doubt *weir* as it is commonly understood, so that Warfleet means the "dammed stream."

I now come to the names of Keltic origin, which are of singular interest and importance in their bearing upon the present enquiry. They are far more numerous than is commonly supposed, and embrace examples of the whole of the words in the well-known rhyme of Camden:

> "By *Tre Ros Pol Lan Caer* and *Pen*
> You may know the most Cornish men."

Excluding very doubtful instances and compounds of Keltic river words, the parish names yield us the following examples:

Abbots and Kings *Kerswells*—*caer*, a "camp."

Brendon—*brae*, a "hill," and *dun*, a "hill," reduplication.

Broadwoodkelly—*celli*, a "grove."

Broadwoodwidger—*gwic hir*, "long village," or *wicca*, "a village."

Budleigh—*bod lle*, "house place," though *bod* may be *bolle* (Saxon), "a house," and *leigh*, "lea."

Butterleigh may be analogous.

Cadbury—*coed*, "wood;" less probably *cad*, "battle."

Cadeleigh—*coed*.

Challacombe is given by Prince, "valley of jaw bones;" but 'shallow combe" is much more likely.

Chevithorne may include *chy* (Kornu), "house," but this is doubtful.

Chittlehampton—*chy tol*, "house by hole;" Chaddle is probably associated with this.

Chittlehamholt. (See preceding.)

Clannaborough—*llan* (?), "an enclosure."

Cockington—*coch*, "red." Cockington = "the enclosure of the red meadow."

Coffinswell—*coch* (?).

Cookbury—*coch*.

Countisbury.—We seem to have here the word *ceann*, *cant*, "a headland," which gave name to Kent, and which occurs also elsewhere in the county; *i.e.* at Kinterbury, near St. Budeaux, and Kentisbury—other forms of Countisbury and Canterbury—and at Kantisbeare. Hence too, probably, the origin of the name "Kent's Hole," the "hole or cave in the headland," which we thus trace back to Keltic times.

Goodleigh—*coed*, a "wood."

Hennock—*hen*, "old."

Highbray—*brae*, a "hill."

Ipplepen—*pen*, a "head."

Kelly—*celli*, a "grove."

Kenn—*cein*, a "ridge;" or see Countisbury.

Landcross—*llan cras*, the "place of the cross." Llan may also occur in Landkey, Landscove, and Lamerton.

Membury—*maen*, a "stone."

Manaton—*maen-y-dun*, "the stony hill."

Parkham and Parracombe—*parc*, an "enclosure," field.

Paignton—*pen*, a "head."

Pennycross—*pen-y-craes*, "head of the cross."

Poltimore—*pol-ty-maur*, the "house by the great pool."

Powderham—*pol-dur*, the "water pool." (The *Domesday* form is Poldre). *Ham* (Saxon), "dwelling," affixed. This seems more probable than the derivation from the Saxon *æpuldre*, "apple-tree," which has been handed down elsewhere unmutilated.

Ringmore—*rhyn-maur*, the "great promontory." This was probably the Keltic name for the promontorial district from the Bolt Tail to the Start—now restricted to the parish.

Roosdown—*ros*, a "heath," reduplicative.

Roscash—*ros*.

Stockland—Possibly *stock* and *llan*, reduplicative.

Townstall (Dunstal in *Domesday*)—*dun*, a "hill," or *dinas*, a "camp," and the Saxon *stow*.

Whimple—*guimp-pol*, "pool on the descent" (Pryce), or *gwyn-pol*, "white pool."

Winkleigh—*winnic*, a "marsh."

To this list should be added the parishes with Keltic dedications, where these are indicated in the names. Mr. Karslake enumerates Romansleigh (St. Rumon), St. Budock; St. Kerrian, St. Paul, St. Pancras—Exeter; St. Brannock, which he traces through Brannockstow to Braunton, and thence to the Barum and Barn of Barnstaple; St. Bran-

wallader (Branscombe), St. Ida (Ide, and Iddesleigh ?), St. Creed (Crediton).*

A general examination of the place-names of the county has revealed, especially in the names of farms, hamlets, and the like, a very large number of unquestionable Keltic names scattered over the whole county; but more numerous in the south and south-east than in the east and north, and least so in the west. There is no such gradual increase of Keltic names when we approach the Tamar westward as Dr. Freeman has assumed.† Killeton, *celli*, a "grove," occurs in East Alvington; and Kelly in Hennock; Commery or Combray, *cwm eru*, the "ploughed valley," or *cwm brae*, the "valley by the hill" (?) in Alphington and elsewhere; Pensford, *pen*, "head," Ashprington; Benstay, *pen*, Bampton; Pennymans, *pen-y-maen*, the "head stone," Belstone; Pillavin, *vyin*, "stones," Bishops Nympton; Tredown, *tre*, "a place, enclosure, corresponds to *tun*, Bow, Broadwoodwidger, Bradstone, and Hollacombe; Treland = *tre-llan* (?) South Brent; Goatam, *coed*, a "wood," Cadeley; Stinial, *stean*, "tin," Chagford; Bigadon, *bich-y-don*, "the little hill," Buckfastleigh; Sigdon, *sich-dun*, "dry hill," Charleton; Treble, *tre*, Cheriton Bishop; Pennyland, *pen-y-llan*, "head of the enclosure," Colebrooke; Painestone, *pen*, ditto; Dinnaton, Dinnacombe, Cornwood and Cornworthy, *dinas*, a "fortress;" Pennymon, *pen*, Cruwys Morchard; Ponsford, *pons*, a "bridge," Cullompton; Trenerry, *tre-an-eru*, "field enclosure," Dunkerswell; Pengillys, *pen-celli*, "head of the grove," Exminster; Penhill, *pen*, Fremington; Pencleave, "head of the cliff," Frithelstock; Rose Down, *ros*, heath; Trelick, *tre-linnic*, "the marshy enclosure," Hartland; Dennis Down, *dinas*, a "fortress," Hittisleigh; Karswell, *caer*, a "camp," Hockworthy, and so Holbeton; Trennicks, *tre-an-ick*, "place of the stream or ford," Ide; Pinnicombe, *pen-y-cwm*, "head of the valley," Kenn; Ponswine, *pons-vyin*, "stone bridge," Kingsteignton; Trevenn, *treven*, "dwellings," Lamerton; Pennycott, *pen*, Lapford; Goodameavy, *coed*, "wood," Meavy; Trehill, *tre;* Penquite, *pen-coed*, "head of the wood," Modbury; Cossick, *cos-gwic*, a "village by the wood," Moretonhampstead; Hannawins, *hannic-gwen*, "summerly meadow;" Ben Twitchen, *pen*, South Molton; Trecombe, *tre-cwm*, "the place in the valley," Northleigh; Pinn, *pen*, Otterton; Goodrington, *coed-rhyn*, the "wooded headland," Paignton; Lana, *llan*, Pancrasweek; Venton, *fenton*, a "spring or well;" Goodamoor, *coed*, wood; Voss, *vos*, a "maid,"

* *Traces of the Ancient Kingdom of Dumnonia.*
† *Norman Conquest*, vol. i. p. 33.

Plympton; Cremyll, *crim*, "crooked, bent," Stonehouse; Wixenford, *gwic-hen*, "old village," Plymstock; Goodshelter, *coed* (?); Prawle, *pral*, a "skull," Portlemouth; Penhay, *pen*, Poughill; Derriton, *derow*, an "oak;" Killatree, *celli;* Lana, *llan;* Villavin, *vil-a-vin*, by mutation for *mil-a-myin*, a "thousand stones," Pyworthy and Roborough; Trehill, *tre*, Sampford Courtenay and Tamerton Foliot; Dira, *derow*, an "oak," Sandford; Pennycott, *pen*, Shobrooke; Pinhill, *pen*, Sidbury; Penston, *pen*, Silverton; Pen Recca, *pen*, Staverton; Pennyhill, *pen*, Stockland; Treleigh, *tre*, Sydenham Damerell; Cocktree, *coch*, "red," South Tawton; Lana, *llan*, Tetcott, perhaps *lanerch*, an "open place in woods;" Cocksilly, *coch*, "red," *selic*, "conspicuous," (?) Little Torrington; Craddock, *careg*, a "rock," (?) Uffculme; Gosses, *gosys*, "bloody," Wembworthy; Trayhill, *tre*, Westleigh; Hand and Pen, *pen*, Whimple; Pennycomequick, *pen-y-cwm-cwick*, "head of the creek valley," Plymouth, Whitchurch; Mannamead, *maen*, "a stone," Plymouth; Venton, *fenton*, "well, spring," Widdecombe-in-the-Moor and Winkleigh; Mainstone, *maen*, "stone," reduplication, Honiton; Crocadon, *croc-y-dun*, "the barrow on the hill," Halwell; Crockham, "the dwelling by the barrow," Hennock; Knackersknowle (near Plymouth), *na-caer-eill*, "the hill camp," or *cnoc-cair-coill*, "the grove camp" (Beal). This also occurs elsewhere, and is evidently Keltic, whether the Gaelic derivation be right or not. Pinhoe, near Exeter, *pen*, a "head," reduplication; the Saxon *hoe* for a high place is common. Goodstone, *coed*, "wood," Ashburton; Manaton, *maen-y-dun*, as the parish, near Plymouth.

Probably, too, of the mass of quaint local names which appear almost, if not quite, hopelessly corrupted, or rendered phonetically in meaningless Saxon, a large proportion date from the times of the Dannonii. Thus we have: Arson, Quoditch, Losses, Beaver (Axminster; can this be a trace of the animal of that name?), Slumbar, Tombiding, Paws, Tuffland (this may refer to a stiff soil, such as is specially noted in Clayhanger and Clayhidon), Odam, Quince, Wolfsgrove (Bishopsteignton; query from the animal), Wadstray, Fraunch, Lana Forda, Addle Hole, Whistlewell, Violets, Hare Pie, Profits Town, Truelove, Bargains, Heart Piece, Snooks, Kittle, Flares, Bason, Dural, Gingerland, Tineo, Venimile, Cartaway, Cappa Dulla, Little Joy, Paymiss, Butless Rill, Trumps, Yellow, Moxdrias ("Mucks-a-draaed!"), Queendart, Pelivan, Hurry, Heckapin, Leary, Affaland, Billets, Gollick, Horsavin, Crimpa, Gagland, Naishes, Puddavin, Garble, Tockley, Kates, Little Comfort, Farrants, Dandyland, Townliving, Homeliving,

Chatafin, Blue Ball, Pottles, Cornbrew, Tough, Brimstone, Delpsillock, Chipshop, Dagafoot, Saxons, Rumage, Mountain Quaintance, Quiver, Cuckoo, and Doats.

Let us now briefly sum up our general conclusions as to the historic teachings of our Devonshire place-names.

They tell us not only that this county has been in turns inhabited by men of different races, but who and what these races were. The names of our larger rivers carry us back to the days of the elder Kelts, while those of others, by their differing character, prove not only that the dominion of the Kelts was long-continued, but that in turn Kelts of different tribes, with varying dialects, held sway here. The fragmentary vestiges of their ordinary nomenclature point to several important conclusions. The fact that these are scattered even yet, though often in very corrupt form, over the whole county, shows that Danmonia was a fully-peopled kingdom. It proves also that the Saxon colonization of the county was widespread. The survival of names in a forgotten tongue in a district from which the givers of those names have been expelled is a sure proof of some sort of continuity. Only on the supposition that the Kelt and Saxon dwelt side by side in Devon, for some lengthened period, can we explain this feature in our nomenclature. As a rule new settlers in a country are content to accept the place-names they find; and with few exceptions the Saxon names of Devon are either of places of Saxon origin, or of places the memory of the Keltic names of which had passed away with the Kelt himself. Thus, paradox as it may seem, it is just where we find Keltic names most common now that we may fairly assume the Saxon element to have been strongest before the Britons were driven across the Tamar. This was around Exeter and along the south coast, very much in the same localities where the actual presence of Roman names indicates that they too were once masters of the land.

Again, the relationship of Keltic and Saxon names proves, whilst the hundreds of camps and earthworks are material evidence that there was plenty of hard fighting before the county was finally won, that the earlier settlements were mainly of a peaceful character. The simple enclosure of the *tun* predominates largely over the more warlike *stock*, which is most frequently found, as already noted, by the side of rivers, where there was the greatest danger of predatory inroads from the sea; and the peaceful *ham* is scattered throughout the county. I do not include here the *worthy*, *cot*, and *hay*, which I take to be of later date, and rather to mark the

use and progress of agriculture. The old name of North Hams for the north of the county, and of South Hams still in use for the south, imply the non-settled character of Dartmoor at the period when they originated; the wild Moor divided the dwellers on the North from those on the South.

And so in the next place we find that there is no evidence whatever of a graduated Keltic element westward, which must be apparent if the Saxon expulsion of the Britons was not complete and final. The Saxon element in our nomenclature is quite as decided on the eastern bank of the Tamar as it is on the north coast; and the Keltic names in that locality are not a whit more plentiful than in some other parts of the county. The singular paucity, otherwise viewed, of Keltic names on Dartmoor, proves two things. First, that during British times Dartmoor was practically unknown to the Saxons. Second, that the Britons of Dartmoor were included in the general expulsion; and that there did not remain in that district, after the time of Athelstan, a race of Keltic miners, who subsequently fell into the position of serfs.*

And as the varying use of differing words for water enables us to trace successive waves of the Keltic race, so the singular localisation of special words for similar objects in various localities, and the casual occurrence of names of undoubted Norse origin, prove that the Teutonic occupation of Devon was of a mixed character, embracing members of the different tribes of the great northern peoples; and probably, from the same indications, in the outset very much of an individual nature.

We may have our doubts as to the extent to which traces of the elder mythology are to be found in our nomenclature, but if records were absolutely silent, we should know that at some period in their history at least both Britons and Saxons professed Christianity; and though we may regard the traces of a British Court of Judicature at Crockern as altogether mythical, we have proof that the Saxons at least had their regular places of assembly. Other names help us much to the understanding of the habits and polity of these times. There is not a single Keltic place-name left which includes the idea of personal ownership. In the earlier days of the Saxon immigration this is equally absent, but with the *worthy cot* and *ham* appears the personal element, which is continued in the *nymets* and the *chards*, until it finds settled expression

* This is suggested by Mr. Davidson. *Trans. Devon Ass.*, vol. ix. p. 200.

in the *boc* lands, to have its fullest rendering in the patronymical distinctions which followed on the Conquest.

And so we can form from this source a far better idea of the olden aspect of the county than any historian has preserved. We see the skirts of Dartmoor shrouded in coppice and undergrowth; woods, interspersed with clearings covering nearly the whole of the wide area, continued in the more open portions by frequent groves—woods in which the ash, and oak, and birch, and beech flourish, and the tenancy of which is disputed by the wolf and the boar; while the badger has his haunt, as now, in the rocky valleys, and the long-vanished beaver toils in the streams. Thus in like manner we can trace the lines of the chief trackways through these wilds by names which are still significant. All this and much more, without the aid of written history, do the place-names of Devon reveal.